

605  
578  
584  
that the husband would not dare to come to her as long as she remained with his *wale atua*.

In the relationship of two *wale atua*, the wish of one is always acted upon by the other; it is even equivalent to a command that may not be disobeyed. A sure way for a boy of former times to get an unwilling girl to marry him was for the boy to work for the girl's *wale atua*. No word was said about courtship, but the male *wale atua* knew that the boy wished to marry his female kinswoman. If he was pleased with the boy, he sent a message to the girl, telling her to marry the boy; a girl would rarely disobey this command from her *wale atua*. A girl might similarly court a boy by working for his female *wale atua*. Even today, where a boy or girl voluntarily works for *wale atua*, people know he or she is trying to force a marriage with the related *wale atua*, though today the wish of the *wale atua* is not so unhesitatingly obeyed as formerly.

605  
602  
765  
The death of one *wale atua* is the occasion for the display of unceasing affection by the surviving *wale atua*. Some of this affection may be real, brought to high tension by the repression of strong avoidances; some of it may be due to cultural fiction. When the *wale atua* is dying the other *wale atua* may be present and is allowed to talk to, embrace, and weep over the dying relative. (See p. app.) It is appropriate for a surviving *wale atua* to mourn for a deceased *wale atua* for a period that would be considered extreme for other relatives. As informants put it, the surviving *wale atua* mourns more for a dead *wale atua* than for husband, wife, father, or children, and this is not considered excess of emotion. There is no ideology, however, of the relationship of *wale atua* in the Underworld, and informants were at a loss to know how they would behave to each other when they met there. Similarly, at parting, when one *wale atua* leaves the island to go away, it is considered proper for the *wale atua* to break the tapu at this time, to embrace and mix their tears. The parting may be until death, hence an approximation to death behavior is in order.

605  
881  
867  
The tapus between *wale atua* come into operation when the young people become sociological adults (*wakutane* and *wakapowine*). Before this time the two kinsfolk are considered children unable to understand the kinship tapus. Hence they may eat, live, and sleep together in the same house. In theory, the two *wale atua* are taught at the time of puberty the kinship tapus that they must observe toward each other, but presumably the educational process is spread out over a longer period—otherwise the validity of the tapus have little opportunity to be established. A grown female may be present at the birth of her younger male *wale atua* and take care of him during infancy and childhood; similarly the older male *wale atua* may care for his younger female relative. Friendly, non-tapu relations are maintained between the two until the younger of the pair reaches puberty, when all connection between them ceases and the strictest tapu is established.

605  
597  
When the adopted (*koketi*) child joins his new household group, he becomes a *wale atua* of the children of the adopting parent's sibling's descendants. Other things being equal, he ceases to regard as *wale atua* those children who would have been his *wale atua* had the adoption not occurred. This follows from the fact that the *koketi* child is in the "as if" relation of *Mofo* child to the adopting parents.

605  
The actual operation of the *wale atua* relationship was observed in the case of Eliu and Lotu (p. 259):

Lotu is many years older than Eliu. She lives directly opposite him, across the village road. The two never come closer to each other than the width of the road. They never talk to each other. Should both be sitting outside their houses, they never look at, or face, each other. We asked Lotu to cross the road one day to the rear of Eliu's house where light was favorable for taking photographs. She refused for a long time, and only came, in the end, when Eliu retired to a safe distance, and her husband persuaded her that it would not matter for once. Immediately the snapshot was taken she hurried back to her own house and sat with her back to us. Yeti, Lotu's husband,

581  
582  
583  
584  
585  
586  
587  
588  
589  
590  
591  
592  
593  
594  
595  
596  
597  
598  
599  
600  
601  
602  
603  
604  
605  
606  
607  
608  
609  
610  
611  
612  
613  
614  
615  
616  
617  
618  
619  
620  
621  
622  
623  
624  
625  
626  
627  
628  
629  
630  
631  
632  
633  
634  
635  
636  
637  
638  
639  
640  
641  
642  
643  
644  
645  
646  
647  
648  
649  
650  
651  
652  
653  
654  
655  
656  
657  
658  
659  
660  
661  
662  
663  
664  
665  
666  
667  
668  
669  
670  
671  
672  
673  
674  
675  
676  
677  
678  
679  
680  
681  
682  
683  
684  
685  
686  
687  
688  
689  
690  
691  
692  
693  
694  
695  
696  
697  
698  
699  
700  
701  
702  
703  
704  
705  
706  
707  
708  
709  
710  
711  
712  
713  
714  
715  
716  
717  
718  
719  
720  
721  
722  
723  
724  
725  
726  
727  
728  
729  
730  
731  
732  
733  
734  
735  
736  
737  
738  
739  
740  
741  
742  
743  
744  
745  
746  
747  
748  
749  
750  
751  
752  
753  
754  
755  
756  
757  
758  
759  
760  
761  
762  
763  
764  
765  
766  
767  
768  
769  
770  
771  
772  
773  
774  
775  
776  
777  
778  
779  
780  
781  
782  
783  
784  
785  
786  
787  
788  
789  
790  
791  
792  
793  
794  
795  
796  
797  
798  
799  
800  
801  
802  
803  
804  
805  
806  
807  
808  
809  
810  
811  
812  
813  
814  
815  
816  
817  
818  
819  
820  
821  
822  
823  
824  
825  
826  
827  
828  
829  
830  
831  
832  
833  
834  
835  
836  
837  
838  
839  
840  
841  
842  
843  
844  
845  
846  
847  
848  
849  
850  
851  
852  
853  
854  
855  
856  
857  
858  
859  
860  
861  
862  
863  
864  
865  
866  
867  
868  
869  
870  
871  
872  
873  
874  
875  
876  
877  
878  
879  
880  
881  
882  
883  
884  
885  
886  
887  
888  
889  
890  
891  
892  
893  
894  
895  
896  
897  
898  
899  
900  
901  
902  
903  
904  
905  
906  
907  
908  
909  
910  
911  
912  
913  
914  
915  
916  
917  
918  
919  
920  
921  
922  
923  
924  
925  
926  
927  
928  
929  
930  
931  
932  
933  
934  
935  
936  
937  
938  
939  
940  
941  
942  
943  
944  
945  
946  
947  
948  
949  
950  
951  
952  
953  
954  
955  
956  
957  
958  
959  
960  
961  
962  
963  
964  
965  
966  
967  
968  
969  
970  
971  
972  
973  
974  
975  
976  
977  
978  
979  
980  
981  
982  
983  
984  
985  
986  
987  
988  
989  
990  
991  
992  
993  
994  
995  
996  
997  
998  
999  
1000

dren by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*laka taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-smelling skin), or *kiko kakova* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

## COURTSHIP

Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iri, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *halele* (messenger), *taugata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoo* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ifo*). These gifts are termed *akatafa*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of tale for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

587 services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged between lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the incidence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

## MARRIAGE

585 Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of contemporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

582 The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*wakopas*) are nominally neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intern marriage Between Paternal Lineages<sup>a</sup>

|                   | NGAKE   |          | Loto        |       | Yalo    |     | Yama-unga |
|-------------------|---------|----------|-------------|-------|---------|-----|-----------|
|                   | Matanga | Muliwutu | Yangalipule | i Tui | Yalongo | Yai |           |
| Matanga, Ngage    | 9       | 5        | 2           | 6     | 1       | —   | —         |
| Muliwutu, Ngage   | 4       | —        | 3           | 5     | —       | 1   | —         |
| Yangalipule, Loto | 1       | —        | —           | —     | —       | 1   | —         |
| i Tui, Loto       | 5       | 1        | 2           | 1     | —       | —   | —         |
| Yalongo, Yato     | —       | —        | 3           | —     | —       | 4   | —         |
| Yai, Yato         | 5       | 2        | 2           | 4     | 2       | 3   | —         |
| Yamaunga, Yato    | 1       | 1        | —           | —     | —       | 1   | —         |

<sup>a</sup> Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

585  
587riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *wowine hai wala*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*otewoi*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

## PERSONAL CHOICE OF MATE

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581  
582  
582 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an average height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wahakume*.

## WEDDING

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *wahatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

[583]  
[585] When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamalame*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wahesonga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tengotango* and does not imply any obligations on either side.

586  
584 A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular presents of fish, mata, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realize his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this *wahakume*. Willing or

584 unwilling, the girl is then taken to the man. If she later runs away, she is dragged back to her husband. If she remains recalcitrant, girl, husband, and parents fight it out until one or the other decides to give in.

585 The marriage is finally concluded by a feast (*uotitima*) and by the presentation of gifts. In a marriage between undistinguished families or where there is a motive to keep it quiet, a feast is prepared by the bilateral relatives of both bride and bridegroom and is eaten on the same morning of the *uakamalama*, either at the boy's or the girl's house, depending on which is more convenient. Relatives of both principals bring gifts which are divided among themselves. If the families are distinguished or wish to make a display, a large feast is prepared before the prearranged night on which the boy is to come to the girl's house. Again, the relatives on both sides contribute.

431

[574]

Wedding gifts of food are of two kinds: *houkou*, gifts of *uotus loloi* (a talo dish), *fulaka loloi* (a *fulaka* dish), uncooked talo, nuts or fish foods intended as a contribution to the feast to be divided among the relatives and friends present at the food division; and *tapa*, gifts of talo puddings (*lamaka*, *mauru*, and *olo*), bananas, chickens or fish, which are given as personal presents to the bride and groom, to be eaten only by them. The food is brought together early in the day. In the afternoon the bride and groom sit outside either's house while relatives bring them mats, malos, ornaments, semmit, fishing gear, and today piece goods, soap, and the like. This phase of the marriage is termed *uakawolo* (aggrandizing). Gifts brought by the girl's relatives are laid at the feet of the boy; those brought by the boy's relatives are laid before the girl.

Before presenting his gifts the donor may make a few dance steps and improvise a chant in which he lauds his own kinship group, refers to its wealth, and makes derogatory remarks about the poverty of the other principal's relatives. A presentation from the groom's side is followed by one from the bride's side, and the same type of praise and insult is repeated. This goes on for a long time, each kinship group endeavoring to outdo the other in the multiplicity and value of the gifts presented. When the gift-giving ends through natural exhaustion, the food is divided (*tau*) among all those present. Later the permanent gifts presented by the boy's side are divided among the relatives of the girl, those presented by the girl's relatives are divided among the boy's group. Only those relatives who have made gifts participate in this division. The bridal couple rarely keep more than a few articles. The differentiation in gift-giving found in Samoa is absent; relatives of both bride and groom bring the same types of gift, whether of food or of durable goods.

Several marriages of the *uakawolo* type occurred during our stay on the island and occasioned much excitement. As the burden of the gift-giving falls on the immediate families of the bride and groom, the drain on their wealth is considerable. One man who has married off three daughters at intervals of only a few months is now so impoverished that he fears his family will be sadly disgraced when his fourth daughter's *uakawolo* takes place shortly. The father of the groom has insisted on reserving this *uakawolo* until after the arrival of the bi-yearly trading schooner so that he may make such a show of gifts as will effectually put the bride's relatives in a very inferior position.

The marriage of a chief or of a son or daughter of the chief followed this general pattern. The mate for a member of the chiefly family was chosen from a family wealthy in talo and coconut trees. The usual gift-giving was held, but on an elaborate scale commensurate with the wealth and status of the two families concerned.

#### ADULTERY

837

The concept of adultery (*uakupo*), as felt and acted upon in former times, is difficult to define. Informants looked at the matter in the following terms:

*Brief Pukapukan Case History.*

141

to be sitting. He said to us, "Shall we go?" He meant to the bush, of course. We said to him, "We're three, you're one." He said, no, he could easily find two more boys. We agreed to this and promised to watch for the three boys after our parents were asleep. The boys came to our house late at night. One of them grabbed Wa's feet. She pinched us and told us to get up and come along. We went off with the boys to a deserted place on the outer beach where lovers often meet. We got there and then coupled off. The first boy with whom we had arranged the meeting took me. I protested against this. I said to him, "I don't want you. You're a fellow who has had intercourse with other women long before this." He argued with me. Another boy chose Wa but Wa would not have him. The third got Lima but she would not have him. The boys got angry with us. "Are you just infants?" they said. "Yes, we are just children," we girls answered together. We were very stubborn. The boys got disgusted with us and simply walked off leaving us in the dark bush by ourselves. Then we got angry in turn and went home.

There seem to have been many instances of this sort of ineffective love-making in my early career. Somehow or other, I always got frightened or something went wrong.

Shortly after my first menses my sister Tolu suggested that it would be a good idea for me to marry her brother. I did not want this. My mind was already set on Ono. One day Ono sent a child with a message asking me to come and talk with him. I went to him that night and he asked me to marry him. I liked Ono but I was afraid my adopted parents would not agree to our marriage. Ono was a man of Ngake village and they wanted me to marry someone from Loto. Ono was confident he could win over my parents by talking to them. I told him to try. He asked and was refused. He spoke to me another night saying he would wait and be patient. We met regularly at night. We hugged and embraced but I was afraid to have intercourse with him. Ono asked my parents a second time to be allowed to marry me but again they refused. Later however they asked me whether I still wished to marry Ono. I said yes. Then they said they would leave it up to me.

## 142 JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

159 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He  
 584 asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve inlet of Ngake  
 836 village, when the people went there to make copra, instead  
 of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotu to  
 their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father  
 were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko with-  
 out causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono.  
 I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the  
 copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I  
 was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt  
 but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other  
 people present. Except during my periods we had inter-  
 [53] course every night, four, three, or two times a night. That  
 is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or  
 longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our  
 nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach.  
 After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono  
 in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we  
 were married.

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy.  
 When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool  
 I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think  
 I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He  
 did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not  
 doing this. What attracted me about him was his height.  
 He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown  
 hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember  
 this.

159 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never  
 593 quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never  
 unfaithful to him and he never went with other women.  
 Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I  
 begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a  
 [53] terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he  
 was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get taro  
 from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or  
 another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are  
 very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and  
 I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived  
 with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man,